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the

Commonweal

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THE Commonweal

week by week

ANOTHER ROUND

THE weeks of the two party conventions every four years are supposed to offer unparalleled opportunities for sneak attacks. To a man, the American people are looking in a single direction—towards Chicago. This gives domestic and foreign enemies of the nation a certain chance. And if we can all be thankful that nothing more new and horrendous transpired abroad than a further loss of position in the Middle East that was inevitable the way things were drifting—and allowed to drift—, something ominous did develop at home: a new spurt of inflation.

The big steel settlement immediately comes to mind, but the pressures were mounting long before boosts in wages and prices for that key industry were finally settled. The biggest single indication of what has been happening in recent months was the Bureau of Labor Statistics figure for June 15, which showed that the cost of living had reached the highest point in our country's history. For virtually everything else but rent, today's American dollar will buy less than half the goods and services it would in 1939.

In times of war, and full preparation for war, such factors as shortages of materials, government expenditures, deficits and borrowing, full employment at high wages and the like cumulate in terrific inflationary pressures. Effective controls are essential. Yet they are politically unpopular; they are under fire all the time.

In the past few months Congressmen from both parties have been hard at weakening the limited controls there were to stem inflation. Mr. Truman himself has yielded ground. In a rough general way Republicans representing certain restive business interests have collaborated with Democrats fearful of the electoral effects of a fall recession—to do in the controls system.

By abolishing government restrictions on instalment credit, for instance, they have shot buying "on time" to a new record of thirteen and three-quarter billion dollars. Fresh and canned vegetables and fruit have been exempted from price controls. Congress as late as last month also deprived the Wage Stabilization Board of many of its powers. The appropriations for economic stabilizing agencies have at the same time been drastically cut. Government controls have been weakened all along the line.

At this point comes the steel settlement, with its immediate effect on manufacturing costs of all products made of that basic commodity (including "tin" cans for fruits and vegetables), and the new wave of wage and price demands it set off in other industries. John L. Lewis has, for one, signified that he stands ready. The new Wage Stabilization Board also has wage demands from shipbuilding, rubber, packing, electrical and copper workers currently on its docket. While the OPS has the prospect of new price demands from the aluminum, oil, floor coverings, finished textiles and department store industries, among others. Both agencies are less able than before to resist such pressures.

AS if this were not enough, it has been disclosed that during the very period when the American cost of living was climbing to a new high in terms of dollars, wholesale commodity prices were actually in a slight decline. Hence the effect of higher commodity prices on food and clothing price tags will in time be catastrophic for people on moderate fixed incomes—it will likewise lead to universal wage demands, inducing still higher prices. The wage-price spiral will speedily rise to a new pitch.

There have been instances in the past when high-minded business and labor leaders have restrained their demands in the national interest. They have measured their own legitimate requirements against the common good. The need for public spiritedness was never greater on this terrain than it is now. Individual citizens have also checked inflationary tendencies by refusing to purchase marked-up goods. But where the necessities of life are concerned the average consumer can do little more than be selective. Even with their lesser powers, wage and price stabilizers in Washington can do something to hold the line—particularly if the public emphatically supports them.

Finally, if inflation continues at its present pace,

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Eisenhower and Stevenson themselves can attack the issue. On all sides their coming debate is awaited for its potentialities in the field of political education. Where could the two distinguished candidates find a more timely and important domestic issue for debate than this?

BI-PARTISAN CHANGE

THE weeks immediately following the national political conventions are, traditionally, a time for reintegration and reassessment, for binding-up the parties' wounds and deciding the issues on which campaigns will be fought. This is not a time, ordinarily, for the real clarification of positions or the all-out wooing of votes. These things wait for that "autumn of conflict and campaign" which begins soon after Labor day, and the respite is probably as welcome to voters wearied by the clichés of July's conventions as it is necessary for politicians preparing for the stands they must take in November's election.

This year, however, some change in this pattern seems to be emerging. Both parties realize that their chances for victory in November rest on considerations different from the arguments they made during the preceding four elections, and they have already begun to shape their appeals in line with 1952's realities. Both are trying hard to acquire a genuine new look with which to come before the electorate. We can, therefore, already begin to discern the issues as they will probably emerge.

It is already apparent, for example, that the issue of change will be paramount this year. This is not surprising in view of the fact that the Republicans have been demanding a change ever since 1936. (General Eisenhower's call for a crusade to drive from power a party grown "arrogant and corrupt" from too long office is remarkably reminiscent of Thomas E. Dewey's battlecry in 1944.) What is new this time is that the Republican strategists seem to recognize that the old, long unsuccessful "change" argument is not enough in itself. The country must be offered something reasonable to change to.

Even though many Democratic politicians would like the voters to believe it, Dwight D. Eisenhower is not Alfred M. Landon, and the world of his chief supporters, men like Senators Lodge, Ives, and Duff, is not the world of Senators Jenner, McCarthy, and Bricker. New forces are at work in the Republican party and these forces are dedicated to the maturing of an enlightened and progressive GOP. And so the Republican plans call for such moves as the utilization of the amateur "Eisenhower for President" clubs in the coming campaign. These forces represent the "new" strength of the Eisenhower movement. Every effort will undoubtedly be made to convince the independent voters that such groups speak in the accents which would distinguish a reborn, victorious Republican party.

The Democratic nominee has himself recognized the force of the "need for a change" issue. His answer to it is not so much a recital of the Democrats' accomplishments during the past twenty years as a tailoring of his own campaign to meet its challenge. Governor Stevenson's appeal to the voters will be to offer a real change from the familiar pattern of Democratic politics, but one free from the hazards of a Republican administration. His actions to date suggest that he will make no complete commitment to the Fair Deal tradition. "If a change is needed," he implies, "I offer you one, and it is one which, while preserving and augmenting everything of value from the past twenty years, will purge from our tradition whatever of the second-rate and unworthy has become attached to it." The Republicans call for a political reformation in America. Adlai Stevenson offers a counter-reformation.

It will be for the voters to decide which alternative would be the more genuine and constructive. Neither the Democrats' unhappy "Don't let 'em take it away!" song, nor the Republicans' dreary talk of "the threat to freedom" under the present administration is the real issue. It is rather this question, recognized by the more responsible men in each party, of the need for a new era in the nation's politics, an era in which both parties accept the shortcomings of their own past, as well as America's responsibilities in the world and the reality of social progress. It is encouraging that this acceptance is increasingly bipartisan.

NEXT WEEK

ERIK VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN writes a first-hand account of certain significant contrasts between the British and Austrian parliaments.

"To a European Continental nothing is more surprising than to see Mr. Attlee reply to Mr. Eden—without rhetoric, without apparent emotion—and then to make the discovery that Mr. Eden will nod each time he agrees with Mr. Attlee. On the Continent this would be almost inconceivable because the ideological cleavages are so deep, the hatreds so monumental and the antagonisms so ingrained, that every notion of 'fair play' (a term untranslatable into French or German) is 'out.' . . . In the House of Lords the club atmosphere, the aura of a 'charmed circle' encountered in the House of Commons, is, of course, even more marked."

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THE POPE'S ECONOMICS

THE Holy Father's recent letter to M. Charles Flory, president of the French Semaines Sociales, was the most important papal statement on economics since *Quadragesimo Anno,* 1931.

The Pope decried the uneven distribution of goods in the world. "The discrepancy between wealth and misery cannot be tolerated by the Christian conscience," he wrote, striking a blow against that complacency which often passes as true Christian conservatism. As a solution the Pope offered the idea that every effort must be made to expand production and a more just distribution of income —which, at least in those places where "grave inequalities exist," would seem to be a call for higher wages and lower profits.

Then the Holy Father called for a wider participation of labor in the establishing and developing of economic life—which, to say the least, can hardly be called an anti-union position. He condemned the idea that general prosperity could be left to the "free play of blind economic forces." The state should play the role of economic coordinator. The Holy Father warned solemnly against enlarging this role of the state until it became "an oppressive omnipotent, weighing down on the legitimate autonomy of private initiative." The correct path lies "midway between the errors of liberalism [read laissez-faire capitalism] and statism." It is the duty of the state to "stimulate increased productive enterprises and a more equitable distribution of the national income."

Finally the Pope referred to certain unnamed "institutions" which for a number of years "have been trying to correct the most flagrant ills that result from a too-mechanical distribution of national income." Left independent of political control these "institutions" may become to the masses of underpaid workers and poor "an indispensable compensation for the evils brought about by economic and monetary disorders." Such "institutions," though, should be watched lest they fall into the error of "compromising the rights of property" by promoting "excessive taxation" or, by *abusing* legitimate collective security, "damage the rights of the individual and the family."

Pope Pius concludes his statement with a reminder that the purpose of national income is that the goods achieved should be justly distributed among all the people. He makes a strong appeal for private-property-for-all, an appeal which in its spirit is quite a contrast to many highly publicized defenses of private property.

Every papal statement must be rather unspecific since it is general principles rather than particular directives that the Holy Father is giving. How the Pope's latest statement applies to the United States must be left to the interpretation of those immediately concerned with our economy. But certainly the general tone of the letter to M. Flory is in keeping with *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno.* It is sometimes said that those two documents were produced by the special needs of the times in which they were written but have no special meaning for the present. The Holy Father's latest makes it clear that the general principles found in them have permanent, abiding connotations.

THE RETURN OF MOSSADEGH

THE last time the frail-looking Premier of Iran visited these shores his country had just expropriated the giant Abadan refinery and ejected the British. His country was already in dire straits. At the time Dr. Mossadegh sought something like ten million dollars a month to keep his nation going. In this he was unsuccessful.

In the interval everything has deteriorated. Without its accustomed oil revenues the Iranian economy has become increasingly desperate. Anti-British feeling has now given way to hatred of the United States. Moderate political elements have completely disappeared from the national scene. For the moment, Premier Mossadegh has extensive dictatorial powers. But an even more violent nationalist, Mullah Kashani, remains as a powerful rival and potential successor. The strong Communist Tudeh Party stands ready to take over in Iran if first Mossadegh and then Kashani should go under. The Soviet Union could take over these rich oil fields virtually by default and thereby greatly step up her war-making potential.

Mossadegh would seem to provide a fragile base on which to place our waning hopes. The wealthy governing class of which he is a member is primarily responsible for the corruption and disparity of wealth which have so infuriated the local masses. The anti-imperialism of Iranian political leaders has sought to divert the ire of those exploited masses from its rightful target. Moreover, the aid which we are now extending to Iran in military and technical matters is being received with considerable resentment.

So that in preparing for Mossadegh's scheduled visit next month we cannot help being acutely aware both of the importance of what is at stake and the difficulty of reaching an agreement that will save the day in the Middle East—thanks to the success of Tudeh and other agitation.

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EUROPE CAN'T LOSE

IF you were an American in Europe this summer people everywhere asked you who the Presidential nominees would be. Before the Republican convention I answered that it was anyone's guess but that the choice was clearly narrowed down to Senator Taft (a groan) and General Eisenhower (an approving smile). I first heard of Eisenhower's nomination at Fagiano's, a restaurant at the Piazza Colonna in Rome. Umberto, the waiter, came up grinning. "Good news for Europe—it's Ike!"

Then he asked me who I thought would be chosen by the Democrats. I thought they would settle on Adlai Stevenson. Umberto, a well-informed man, never heard of the Governor. "A good man?" he asked. "I think so." "How is it that I never heard of him?" I told him that Stevenson was something of a newcomer on the national scene. "An isolationist?" "No." "Good, then Europe can't lose."

The conversation became familiar. Everyone knew Eisenhower's name and Taft's, but Stevenson was an unknown quantity.

If the election had been held in Europe this summer Eisenhower would have won by a knockout. But as Mr. Stevenson and his views become better known the Governor will probably pick up much sideline support. Stevenson's acceptance speech was widely hailed in Europe as a masterful statement of political purpose. The very qualities that might work against his election in this country—his "intellectualism," the loftiness and cosmic sweep of his approach—may make him a tremendously popular figure in Europe. As Dean Acheson is greatly admired abroad for the personal characteristics that have been a handicap at home so Stevenson as President might gain new prestige for the United States.

In Eisenhower the Europeans see all they have come to admire in the American character: a certain freshness, honesty, goodwill, boyish determination. In Stevenson they may find a reflection of a side of America they have until now sorely missed—growing maturity, seriousness, political urbanity and a quickened sense of responsibility. Certainly Eisenhower has lost rather than gained prestige in Europe since he left SHAPE headquarters. His offhand remark about France will long handicap him in his dealings with that country, and his necessary association with the isolationists of his party makes his present situation somewhat ambiguous.

Probably never before has there been so much popular European interest in our elections. People feel immediately and personally concerned. A swing to isolationism in the U. S. would leave Western Europe helpless, ready for the expected assault from the East. If it is true that we feel burdened with Europe, it is also true that they feel burdened with us.

They have accepted our leadership and turned their backs on their own neutralists and fellow-travelers. Every government in Western Europe outside Switzerland and Scandinavia has open taken sides in the East-West struggle and is pro-American and anti-Soviet by profession. As long as isolationism remains a force in American life—an exaggerated and over-publicized force, I think—Europeans will feel uncertain about the choice they have made.

The cold war, it is expected, will last a long time. "As long as we hear about the Chicago *Tribune,* Mr. Hoover's Gibraltar and the rest of your stay-at-home propagandists," a Frenchman told us, "we'll get the jitters every time you go to the polls. American isolationism is like a bomb that can go off at any time. Look how narrowly we escaped Taft this time!" (The Senator may not like being called an isolationist, but that is how he is regarded abroad.)

Jimmy Durante has a song: "Did you ever have a feelin' that you wanted to go and then have a feelin' that you wanted to stay?" That expresses the mood of the Western Europe-United States liaison. Periodically we grow very weary of pouring our money and goods into the European economy and of sending our young men abroad. Periodically they grow weary of having us around and being dependent on us.

Every move we make that they think is hasty and unwise, prompted by emotion rather than reason, that reveals our changeableness and feeling of unsureness, they reason, puts them in mortal danger. A false move on America's part—the European says—and his home may go up in flames, his children may know the horrors of war which they so recently survived. It is that close, that personal.

Over here our latter-day isolationists exploit every uncertainty about European steadfastness, every weakness or failing to be found on the Continent. Over there the Communists exploit every doubt about America, the natural day-to-day annoyance of a proud people at being dependent for their survival on a foreign power. *"U. S. Go Home!"* You find the Communist-inspired sign scribbled on walls and railroad cars all over Europe. If only we could! No one would like it better than we.

But in our sober moments we know—as Europe knows—that we are there to stay. In the 1952 Presidential election it is not even an issue. "Good," Umberto the waiter said when I told him it would be Eisenhower vs. Stevenson, "then Europe can't lose." Nor can America.

JOHN COGLEY.

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Death of a Culture

IN THE SOUTHWEST THE OLD VALUES ARE BEING DISCARDED WITH THE SHIFT TO AN URBAN, INDUSTRIAL, SECULARIZED SOCIETY

JOHN McKEON

A WEEK before leaving the Archdiocese of Santa Fe in New Mexico I went to Pecos for a final visit with a priest friend who is pastor of the town and ten of the surrounding visitas and missions, which are sprawled out over forty square miles of desert and mountains. The missions bore names like Santo Niño, Ojo de la Vaca, Las Colonias, El Macho and Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, de Luz and de Guadalupe, attesting their Spanish origin; in most cases before either Jamestown or Plymouth Rock were heard of. For the most part they had seemingly been chosen by their founders for their inaccessibility, hidden away as they were at the ends of the vast maze of arroyos and canyons that crisscrossed the mesa at the foot of the surrounding Mountains of the Blood of Christ. The mountains were both truly and nobly named; the sandstone outcroppings on their peaks did indeed shine blood-red in the setting sun.

A half dozen trips to any one of the missions was sufficient to make the springs of a brand new jeep spread fanwise, like a deck of cards in the hands of a fortune teller, and along with the hardship of reaching them these missions had another characteristic in common: a poverty so deep and so ancient that it was no longer even commented upon save by the most casual stranger, and of these there were few.

The life of the subsistence farmers and small mountain ranchers who inhabited them was hard; hard and bitter to a degree that is no longer known or comprehended for the most part by city-dwelling Catholics. For their priest, who is sensitive and aware of his inability to change the fundamental causes of their poverty, it was even harder. A fellow New Yorker of Italian descent, son of a noted sculptor, he had seen most of his efforts on their behalf bog down over the years because of lack of funds. He was not alone in his plight, since there is hardly a priest in the Southwest who does not have in his parish at least a half dozen families with children unable to attend either school or Mass because of the lack of proper clothing.

As editor of the archdiocesan paper for the previous eighteen months, I had accumulated enough dreary statistics on the condition of these people to nurture my own set of ulcers. The archdiocese comprises the state of New Mexico, fourth largest in the union, less the great reservations of the Navajos and the Mescalero and Jicarilla Apaches and, with the suffragan dioceses of El Paso and Gallup, counts a total Catholic population of two hundred and thirty-five thousand out of four hundred thousand residents. Eighty per cent Spanish-speaking, they are descended of the colonists of the Onate Expedition from Mexico City who, in 1598, planted the seed of the Faith in what is now the United States and whose successive generations for more than three hundred years watered it with their blood and misery throughout drought, famine and century-long, unrelenting Indian raiding.

In one Indian massacre alone, the Great Pueblo Rebellion, inaugurated on the Eve of the Feast of St. Lawrence, 1680, more than thirty Franciscan priests were martyred for the Faith in a single day. The surviving Catholics of the province, men, women and children, hacked their way through Indian encirclement from Santa Fe to El Paso, a distance of four hundred miles, over desert and mountains in a bloodstained epic of fortitude and courage that reduces the technicolor sagas of Hollywood to soap-opera proportions.

FOR their two hundred thirty-five thousand descendants, the majority of whom, according to the current New Mexico Health Association's *Health Officer,* enjoy a submarginal standard of living, the Chancery Office of the Archdiocese could afford a total emergency relief allotment of only sixty dollars per month. In turn, the Director of Catholic Charities for the Archdiocese could not afford the services of a single Catholic social worker. Since exactly no emergency relief funds were allotted by the State of New Mexico for the poor of the Archdiocese, and the sum total of emergency relief was the sixty dollars per month provided by the Chancery Office, the resulting squalor and misery approached medieval proportions. For the more than two hundred thousand braceros, Mexican migratory workers who

Mr. McKeon until recently was editor of the Santa Fe archdiocesan edition of the Register.

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swarmed throughout the Southwest in a state of perennial near-destitution, the archdiocese could spare neither medical assistance, charitable relief, nor priests to administer the sacraments. They were left, of necessity, to the mercy of God and the conscience of their employers.

Only the week before I had covered a story in the town of Hobbs, N. M. A girl of ten, daughter of a bracero, had been taken into custody with her father for contributing to the death of her brother and sister, aged fourteen months and five years respectively. The manner of her contribution had been this: her mother having died some weeks before and her father being at work in the fields all day, she had been left in care of the children. Having nothing to feed them but black coffee, bread and beans, they had died of malnutrition under her care. The county district attorney, after making a careful study of the case, released his findings to the newspapers and they were these: that prolonged investigation had failed to show criminal intent on the part of the father and daughter and as a result he was being forced to release them for want of evidence.

This had not been an isolated case. By the state's own admission in the annual health report for the year, only slightly over half of the children in New Mexico got sufficient milk for their needs; out of the nine in one hundred premature births for whites and fifteen in one hundred premature births for the Indians, thirty percent died for lack of proper medical care. Fifteen thousand Navajo children were without school facilities, and famine was both endemic and perennial among them, with the attendant host of insufficiency diseases and ailments.

In a state with the second highest death rate in the nation from tuberculosis, the New Mexican Health Department had no funds of its own to allot for its treatment among the rural population and had only one hundred and fifty beds available for sufferers from the disease when the minimum need was nine hundred.

But it was the children who suffered most. The area has the highest birth rate per capita for Catholics in the nation. The plight of the children was succinctly told in two sentences from the Final State Report for the Mid-century White House Conference on Children and Youth for New Mexico: "Admitting our almost total lack of public treatment facilities, greater emphasis should be placed on patient education in public and personal health measures, yet, hardly a county in New Mexico is adequately staffed with Public Health Nurses." And: "The case of inadequate nutrition in many New Mexico children, as a cause of crippling, demands investigation and correction . . . many expectant and nursing mothers are without knowledge of their food needs and in only very few communities is evaporated milk or *any other food* available to supplement the diet of mothers unable to provide sufficient food for themselves . . ."

THE list of Public Health statistics proving the immediate and pressing plight of the majority of rural Catholics in the archdiocese was all the more galling in view of the generosity of American Catholics in the field of foreign charity. Eight-tenths of all medical and charitable assistance available to the population of the archdiocese, Catholic and non-Catholic, was dispensed by the Church. Only two out of every ten hospitals, mental institutions, orphanages, public health and maternity clinics in the archdiocese were administered by the state or other religious denominations. Yet, despite the enormous sacrifice and effort this necessitated on the part of an impoverished archdiocese, the socio-medico and economic problems of the rural population remained largely untouched because of lack of funds.

The archdiocese is chiefly composed of three ethnic divisions, Indian, Anglo-American and Spanish-speaking. World War II saw the balance shift from a predominantly Spanish-speaking population in the major cities of the Archdiocese, such as Santa Fe, Albuquerque, Las Vegas and Roswell, to a more nearly equal division between "Anglo" and Spanish-speaking. In the train of the shift came the attendant sharpening of racial and economic problems. In the cities juvenile delinquency and crimes of violence took a sharp upward turn following the war, but it was in the rural areas, the cradle of Catholic cultural traditions and values, that the ravages of the population shift were most keenly felt.

Composed in most part of subsistence farms, the combination of a high birth-rate and the consequent dividing and subdividing of the available land, plus a five-year drought and the tinsel glitter of high wages at the Secret Weapons Base in Sandia, Kirtland Air Field in Albuquerque and the Atomic Energy Project in Los Alamos, all combined to create a shift from a predominantly pastoral and agricultural economy to an urban and industrial one. Much that was held valuable in the old economy, religious customs and art, social traditions and values, were discarded in large part as useless in the new. It is difficult to see how, without a comprehensive and sustained program of assistance from American Catholics at large, the Catholic culture of the Southwest can endure.

THE great history, the dignity and the courage of that culture are difficult to impart in brief, but almost any incident concerned with it is capable of illustrating the greatness of its past and the tragedy of its present.

I had spent most of the day of my visit saying goodbye to various friends in Pecos and in the late afternoon, a few hours before I had to leave to catch the plane for New York, I was returning to the village in the company of my priest friend. It was late afternoon, three days before Christmas, and there was a faint powder-

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ing of snow in the fields that bordered the dirt road. A mile from the village I turned the laboring little 1937 Chevvy into the Pecos State Monument entrance for a final visit to the ruins. Darkness already filled the mountains behind and around us. Forty miles away, in the mountains to the north, the long luminescent shoal of light that marked Los Alamos glittered in the deep-sunk reef of night.

At the end of the cutoff, to our right, the ruined walls of the mission church of Our Lady of the Angels jutted blackly against the sky in the fading light. We left the car and walked the last hundred yards toward it over the rubble of shards and broken adobes that littered the area. The Archdiocese of Santa Fe is dotted with ruined missions that for architectural beauty put to shame the better publicized ones of Southern California, but of all of them the noblest is that of Our Lady of the Angels. When we reached the shattered walls we paused in silence to look around. Over all that pueblo and countryside the air of *lachrymae rerum* hangs heavy, but never so much as on a winter's day of leave-taking.

Over the same ground on which we stood, Coronado had led his horsemen into the pueblo, the ancient home of the now vanished Tewa Indian Nation. On that day, four hundred years ago, the pueblo had been the most populous city on the American continent north of the Rio Grande. From the Gulf of Mexico to the Bering Straits, from Hudson's Bay to Vancouver, there had been no greater city and now, of the great buildings that had amazed Coronado's troopers and given rise to the legend of the Seven Golden Cities of Cibola, nothing was left but an adobe rubble, and of the hundreds of thousands of souls who had inhabited it since the Bronze Age not one remained.

Coronado's friars had baptized four thousand souls there in a single day, and when he passed on to the north two friars remained to begin the Mission of Our Lady of the Angels. The secret of the date of the church's completion still lies hidden and untranslated in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, but that it was long before either Jamestown or the Mayflower venture there can be little doubt. Onate found the mission thriving and that was in 1598, fifty years after its founding by the Franciscans. Tragedy struck here as it did throughout the Archdiocese on the Feast of Saint Lawrence in 1680.

The resident priest, one Fray Luis, warned by an Indian sexton of the impending massacre, sought to escape to warn the Spanish inhabitants of the village of Galisteo but was waylaid and slain by arrows in a nearby field. The church was plundered and desecrated by the Indians and abandoned for eleven years until the re-conquest of the province by Captain General De Vargas in 1691.

On his entry into the pueblo, De Vargas found that the one object connected with the mission church to escape desecration at the hands of the Indians was a painting of Our Lady of the Angels that had been a gift to the Franciscan Order by the Queen of Spain and that had been presented in turn to the priests of the mission. The same painting hangs over the altar at the parish church of St. Anthony in Pecos today.

Ill-luck dogged the pueblo following the rebellion. By 1776 it could no longer boast a resident priest and had been reduced to the status of a visita attached to the parish of Pecos. In 1838 a cholera plague wiped out the pueblo and left only fifteen survivors. Invited to live at the Jamez Pueblo some eighty miles away, the survivors took the painting of Our Lady of the Angels to the parish of Pecos and left it in the care of the parishioners with the proviso that once a year, on the Feast of Our Lady of the Angels, the parishioners carry the painting in solemn procession to the pueblo and attend a Mass there for the souls of the departed inhabitants.

One hundred and twelve years passed by before the promise was kept. My priest friend, looking through the records of the parish, had come upon the story, organized the first procession honoring the pledge and celebrated the first Mass within the ruined walls of the church in over a century.

LEAVING the mission of Our Lady of the Angels as darkness became complete, we were turning into the rectory yard in Pecos when our attention was caught by a little tableau. A group of children in the yard in ragged dress were surrounding a girl of about ten who was seated with stately dignity on a burro as tiny as a dwarf Sicilian donkey. The burro's halter was held by a dark-faced handsome boy of about twelve, who was obviously struggling not to reflect the mischief in the eyes of the surrounding children. The priest laughed. "It is the *pastorales*" he said. "I am about to be blackmailed," and explained the meaning of the tableau.

Each year at Christmas time the children of the village, in accordance with ancient tradition, elect one of their number to be the Joseph of the Nativity story and one to be the Mary, and seating the Mary upon a burro they follow as Joseph leads her from door to door throughout the village, crying out, "There is no room at the inn, there is no room at the inn" and the villagers, coming to their doors with good grace or ill, pay their forfeits of pennies or cake or candy, because their house is the inn of Bethlehem for the night and they are without room for guests.

It is a symbol that could be aptly used to characterize the plight of tens of thousands of Catholics, adults and children, throughout the Southwest, who find in the midst of the nation with the highest material standard of living in history that there is "no room at the inn" for them.

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The Bricker Amendment

HAROLD C. HINTON

A NATION could hardly survive in any century, least of all the twentieth, unless its government had the authority and power to conduct foreign relations. In 1936 the Supreme Court held that this power, which it called one of the "necessary concomitants of nationality," would be vested in the federal government even in the absence of any explicit constitutional provision to that effect. Actually, of course, the Constitution does make such a provision, and, since legislative control of foreign relations had worked badly under the Articles of Confederation, our Founding Fathers assigned the direction of diplomacy to the executive branch of the government.

Congress retains certain functions in the field of foreign relations, however. It alone can declare war, it can regulate foreign trade, and it alone can vote or refuse to vote the appropriations necessary to the conduct of foreign relations. Ambassadorial appointments require confirmation by the Senate, and the consent of two-thirds of those Senators present and voting is needed for the ratification of a treaty.

This last provision, designed to forestall hasty ratification of ill-advised treaties, has not prevented the unconditional approval, up to 1935, of about three-fourths of the treaties presented to the Senate. John Hay, one of our most distinguished Secretaries of State, was exaggerating when he wrote: "A treaty entering the Senate is like a bull going into the arena; no one can say just how or where the final blow will fall—but one thing is certain—it will never leave the arena alive."

In recent years, as dangerous crises have grown more and more frequent, executive agreements have become the usual way of reaching an understanding with a foreign government. They have several advantages over treaties: they can be concluded more quickly and more confidentially, they do not require formal approval by the Senate, and they can be modified or abrogated more easily. Few executive agreements are made, however, without at least a reasonable expectation that Congressional approval and appropriations will be forthcoming.

Like the Constitution and laws passed in accordance with it, a treaty once ratified is the supreme law of the land, and is binding on all citizens and on the courts and officials of the federal and state governments. In this, American practice differs from that prevailing abroad, where special legislation is usually required to give effect to a treaty. The courts have held that executive agreements too, at least when supported by Congressional action, are the supreme law of the land and superior to state (though not federal) laws. In case of a conflict between a federal law and a treaty or executive agreement, the more recent of the two prevails.

The binding force of treaties, and even executive agreements, on the officials and citizens of the United States has recently begun to disturb many Americans, particularly those of an isolationist turn of mind. To plug what he considers a dangerous loophole in the Constitution, Senator John W. Bricker (R., Ohio) introduced into the Senate early this year a proposed constitutional amendment, which to become effective must be approved by two-thirds of both houses of Congress and ratified within seven years by three-fourths of the state legislatures.

The proposed amendment would prohibit the impairment, or even the definition, of the constitutional rights of United States citizens by treaty or executive agreement (Section 1); forbid the vesting of any of the executive, legislative, or judicial powers of the United States government in any foreign or international agency (Section 2); make Congressional assent necessary to the alteration of any federal or state law, or state constitution, through a treaty or executive agreement (Section 3); forbid the conclusion of executive agreements "in lieu of treaties," and in any event provide for their automatic expiration one year after the end of the term of the President who negotiated them (unless extended for another term by Congress at the request of his successor); and, finally, compel the publication of all executive agreements except those requiring secrecy, which would be communicated only to appropriate committees of Congress (Section 4).

SENATOR Bricker has mustered powerful support for his proposal. Fifty-six other Senators, mainly isolationist Republicans but also including Saltonstall, Lodge, Ives, and Morse, are listed as co-sponsors of the resolution proposing the amendment. Some of these, it is true, are more interested in having it discussed than in having it adopted. Only sixty-four affirmative votes would be needed to put the Senate's approval on the proposed amendment. The Judiciary Committee has held hearings on it but has not yet reported it out. The House of Delegates of the American Bar Association has expressed itself in favor of a similar amendment, and there seems to be a good deal of popular sentiment to the same effect.

Senator Bricker has clearly stated the purpose of his resolution: "I do not want any of the international groups, and especially the group headed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, which has drafted the Covenant of

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Human Rights, to betray the fundamental, inalienable, and God-given rights of American citizens enjoyed under the Constitution. That is really what I am driving at."

He and his supporters argue that the United Nations is evolving a new type of international law which sometimes regulates the status, activities, and relationships of individuals, instead of merely those of states. American citizens might find themselves saddled with socialized medicine, or limitations on freedom of the press, as the result of United Nations conventions embodying the lowest legal denominator of the member nations.

Conceivably, even a treaty embodying some infringement of our liberties, such as Congress itself is forbidden by the Constitution to enact, might sneak past an unwary President and Senate. As though to lend color to this fear, Senator McCarran has expressed regret that he voted for ratification of the United Nations Charter.

Other United Nations documents beside the Charter have disturbed men of the Bricker school of thought. This is true especially of the Genocide Convention, whose approval has been recommended to the Senate by President Truman, but which is unquestionably a very loosely drawn document. It prohibits extinction of racial groups as a whole or in part, and even the causing of "mental harm" to such groups.

The looseness of the language has aroused exaggerated fears that American citizens might be hauled before international tribunals, or even apprehended by agents of other governments, to answer for participation in such time-honored American practices as lynching and segregation.

The status which treaties, and even to some extent executive agreements, now enjoy as the supreme law of the land worries Mr. Bricker a great deal. Some, such as the Yalta Agreement, have been bad, or at least unpopular in this country, and he feels that Congress ought to have some additional control, which he hopes his amendment would provide, over their conclusion.

AGAINST the Bricker Amendment is ranged an impressive array of legal authorities (including the New York City Bar Association, a good many prominent members of the American Bar Association itself, the State Department, and Professors Quincy Wright of Chicago and Manley O. Hudson of Harvard), as well as a number of civic organizations. These opponents contend that the Bricker Amendment is both unnecessary and undesirable.

The fundamental legal argument against the amendment is that constitutional rights and liberties of American citizens can no more be abridged by treaty than by statute. The opinion of the courts and the legal profession on this point was summarized by Dean Charles K. Burdick of Cornell Law School in 1932:

> Notwithstanding the broad language used in the Constitution there is probably no one who will assert that the power to make law by treaty is unlimited, and that no treaty could be declared unconstitutional. Those things which the federal government is absolutely forbidden by the Constitution to do at all it certainly cannot do through the provisions of a treaty. . . .
>
> It would seem equally true that affirmative self-executing provisions in the Constitution can no more be evaded by the treaty-making organs of the government than by the organs vested with legislative power. . . .
>
> The form of government established by the Constitution is clearly intended by the terms of that instrument to be altered only by amendments adopted in the way there provided. It is therefore universally agreed that changes in the form of government as established by the Constitution could not be made by treaty.

The Bricker Amendment, if it had been a part of the original Constitution and had been strictly interpreted, would have prevented the government of the United States from signing a number of beneficial treaties and conventions "respecting the rights of citizens," such as the Geneva Convention to Suppress the Slave Trade, and would thereby have made us appear ridiculous, or worse, in the eyes of the world. It would also have made it impossible, or at least very difficult, for the United States to participate in such international organizations as the International Court of Justice and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It would have further complicated the already difficult task of carrying out treaty obligations, by preventing treaties and executive agreements in conflict with federal or state laws from being self-executing, and by requiring special Congressional action to give them effect. As matters now stand, a law in conflict with a treaty can, at least in theory, be re-enacted and thus given precedence over the treaty.

The section of the amendment dealing with executive agreements, its opponents argue, would hamper any President in the conduct of foreign relations and would virtually hamstring one who, as often happens, was faced with hostile majorities in Congress. No administration would feel bound, legally or even morally, by the commitments made by its predecessors, and the good faith of the United States would be open to question. Other nations would find it easier to repudiate their commitments to us. Part at least of the administrative control over foreign relations would be transferred from the executive branch, where the Constitution now places it, to the legislative, and the unfortunate situation existing under the Articles of Confederation would be to some extent reproduced. Congress, already unable to keep abreast of its legislative duties, would be over-

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whelmed by an avalanche of agreements with foreign governments calling for consideration, most of them either trivial or purely technical.

Finally, existing constitutional safeguards appear adequate to ward off the dangers which Senator Bricker fears. The Senate can refuse to approve a bad treaty, and Congress as a whole can refuse to vote the appropriations which are almost always necessary to give effect to any treaty or executive agreement. The power of the purse, combined with the wishes of the voters, generally serves as an effective check on the negotiation of unwise or unpopular executive agreements. Furthermore, a treaty or executive agreement which violates the Constitution can be declared by the courts to be inoperative, to the extent of the violation, on United States citizens.

ON the whole, it seems to me, the arguments advanced by the opponents of the Bricker Amendment are far stronger than those put forward by its supporters, our system of government being what it is. On the other hand, it is true that the executive branch sometimes negotiates a treaty or agreement which is unacceptable to Congress or the electorate, or both. This type of diplomacy at cross-purposes cannot be entirely guarded against under our present system of separation of powers.

In the British system of parliamentary government on the other hand, the separation of powers and its attendant deadlocks are largely absent. The Prime Minister is neither popularly elected, as such, nor legally independent of Parliament; he is the leader of the majority party in the House of Commons. He and the Foreign Minister, whom he appoints, have the power to negotiate and ratify treaties and agreements without the formal approval of Parliament. If a major issue is created by Parliamentary disapproval or refusal to vote a necessary appropriation, the Prime Minister either resigns (to be succeeded by a newly chosen leader of the same party) or dissolves Parliament (in which case the voters have the immediate opportunity to elect Members of Parliament who support the point of view which they favor). Prolonged deadlocks on major issues are virtually impossible.

The Bricker Amendment is a timid and clumsy attempt to deal with a danger which is largely imaginary and which, insofar as it is real at all, is only one aspect of a more complex problem—the separation of powers—and at that an aspect which our present constitutional machinery seems adequate to cope with. Senator Bricker's proposed remedy would probably prove worse than the disease that it is designed to cure. It has several hurdles to clear before going into effect—the Senate Judiciary Committee, the Senate itself, the House of Representatives, and the legislatures of three-fourths of the states—and the sooner it trips on one the better.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Stevenson: the New Approach

I THINK that the choice of Sparkman as a running-mate was a mistake. From the practical point of view it saves a number of electoral votes for Stevenson in the South. From the practical point of view it may also lose an even greater number of electoral votes in the North, where it begins to look as though large blocs of Negro votes will go to Eisenhower.

From the moral, and practical, point of view it seems to me that it is a good idea for a party to nominate candidates whose records come close to paralleling the platform upon which the party has agreed to stand.

One of the weak spots in Stevenson's acceptance speech was his question: "Is it the part of wisdom to change for the sake of change to a party with a split personality; to a leader, whom we all respect, but who has been called upon to minister to a hopeless case of political schizophrenia?"

By the choice of Sparkman, which was apparently Stevenson's choice, the Democratic Party remains an almost equally "hopeless case of political schizophrenia." If they had to have a Southerner on the ticket it should have been some one like Barkley or Kefauver who has at least made an effort to live up to the civil-rights plank in the platform.

As a matter of fact, I thought the "loyalty pledge" was a good idea, even though I have seen some harsh words written about it by men whose opinion I respect. I think it should have been enforced and the delegates who refused to sign it—from Virginia, South Carolina and Louisiana—should have been thrown out on their lily-white ears.

It was not a "loyalty pledge," as it was called. It did not insist that anyone support the nominees or the platform of the convention. It simply stated that each delegate pledges himself to "exert every honorable means available to him in any official capacity he may have, to provide that the nominees of this convention for President and Vice President, through their names or those of electors pledged to them, appear on the election ballot under the heading, name or designation of the Democratic Party."

Senator Russell Long, the remarkable son of the old Kingfish, made a speech that brought tears to my eyes when, as he said, he "risked his whole political life" by breaking with the bulk of the Louisiana delegation to sign the pledge. He said the people of Louisiana should

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be protected in their right to vote for the Democratic candidate under the Democratic label. He foresaw an attempt to put Eisenhower under the Democratic label. And he, as all of us did, looked back to 1948 when a number of Southern states sent delegates to the Democratic convention, participated in the decisions of that convention, and then returned to their states, prevented Truman from appearing on the Democratic ticket and ran Thurmond in his place.

No organization, political or otherwise, can allow this kind of treason within its ranks and expect to survive. The pledge was the minimum guarantee that a self-respecting party could demand that those who take part in its deliberations should not immediately use its name to make war against it.

And in a sense the pledge worked. Virginia got by because its governor stood up and swore that the laws of his state provided that the Democratic name belonged only to the nominee of the Democratic Party. In their childish pride the Virginia delegates refused to sign what their own state law required that they perform. And the story is that it was Stevenson's influence that shifted the votes that kept them in the convention, and kept South Carolina and the bulk of the Louisiana delegation in the convention once they too had given assurances that they would live up to the pledge, even though they would not sign it.

Perhaps it was better this way. I don't know. If the schizophrenia of the Democratic Party is going to be tackled, perhaps it is better that it should be tackled, as it was in 1948, on a clear-cut question of principle rather than on the basis of a childish refusal to sign something that says you're going to do what you have to do anyway.

SO this year, unlike 1948, the old Anglo-Saxon genius for compromise and muddling-through went to work again and the South was placated. And only the Negroes in the North were very greatly upset—the Negroes and some of those whites who believe that the principle of white supremacy is a challenge to the decency of Christian men.

But Stevenson didn't see it that way, nor did Truman and the other party leaders who made the choice. And I suppose they had their arguments.

Some union men were upset about the choice of Stevenson for other reasons. Said T. C. Carroll, president of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, AFL, in a statement distributed during the convention to a group of AFL delegates:

"Adlai Stevenson could not possibly carry the key industrial states of the nation because he is on record, time and time again, as a defender of the vicious and detested Taft-Hartley Act."

This is not exactly true. Stevenson has said: "Some features of the Taft-Hartley law seem to me to advance the cause of good labor relations, and other features . . . do not . . . The law needs . . . substantial amendments. I don't think it should be repealed."

On the other hand, the Democratic platform comes out strongly for repeal of the Act, and Stevenson, who seems to be a man of honor, told the convention in the early morning of Saturday, July 26, "I accept your nomination—and your program."

But there is no denying that Stevenson and his opinions are not cut entirely to fit the union man's point of view. The CIO came out for him early in the game. CIO delegates from Michigan could be seen and heard voting for him when most of the Michigan delegation were still sticking with Kefauver. Nevertheless, the Governor of Illinois is what is known as "a moderate liberal," not one of the Humphrey-Harriman-Moody school.

And yet I remember that Senator Blair Moody never joined the Newspaper Guild when he was just a Washington correspondent for one of the Detroit newspapers. Somehow I think Stevenson would have joined the Guild if he had been in the same spot. What he believes he believes strongly.

And how he can put words into what he believes! Surely this is the most eloquent presidential candidate we have seen in many years, not excepting the great FDR. And they say he writes his own speeches.

IN my opinion this is a magnificent man, a man so highly gifted that it is something of a wonder that the convention of an American political party would have the sense to pick him, against his own will. He can even read a speech and make it sound like a few brilliant thoughts that had just come to him a moment before.

He may not go as far as Truman or Roosevelt in the program that he espouses. But I believe that if he is elected he may well go farther than either of them in putting flesh on the dead bones of a liberal program. And that is what we most desperately need—an effective leader who can dramatize his program.

For the Republicans are right. We do need a change. For roughly fourteen years now we have had a Congress dominated, throttled and paralyzed by a coalition of Republican and Democratic reactionaries. This Congress in turn has impeded and stultified our executive arm at every turn.

Stevenson may well be the man who can wage a campaign that will sweep into Congress with him a body of men and women who can assist him, as he so truly put it, in that "long, patient, costly struggle which alone can assure triumph over the great enemies of man—war, poverty and tyranny—and the assaults upon human dignity which are the most grievous consequences of each."

JOHN C. CORT.

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THE SCREEN

NOR CUSTOM STALE

JOAN CRAWFORD has stood through the years as a symbol of movie glamor. Through the years indeed —for Miss Crawford has been with us a long time; and it is to her credit that when her acting is good it is very good, but when it is not so good there is still her glamor and style to carry a picture.

"Sudden Fear" is obviously a vehicle for Crawford; it gives her an opportunity to run the gamut of acting and glamor. The main trouble with it, however, is that it's almost all Crawford, and even enthusiasts may find it too much of a good thing. The story concerns a San Francisco heiress who is also a successful playwright. She marries an actor whom she had spurned for the lead role in her last play and is ecstatically happy on her honeymoon—until she discovers her husband has a mistress, and that the two of them plan to kill her for her money. Once she overcomes her first shock of fear, she shows how a good dramatist handles a harrowing situation and she plans a revenge as shocking as her husband's diabolic scheme.

All this melodrama gives Miss Crawford many chances to portray love, fear, hate, rage and various other emotions, and to wear a variety of handsome gowns—all of which she does intensely and well. Although the first part of the film drags considerably, Director David Miller manages to work up great suspense after the wife gets the low-down on her villainous husband. It is unfortunate, however, that the wordy script by Lenore Coffee and Robert Smith wasn't tightened and perhaps even rearranged so that the other characters got more footage. Jack Palance is frightening as the husband; and Gloria Grahame gives a thoroughly convincing portrait of his vicious accomplice. "Sudden Fear" is a must for Crawford fans.

LINDA Darnell is also a glamorous and competent actress, but I'm afraid she was somewhat miscast in her latest picture. "Island of Desire" is about a middle-aged Canadian spinster (a nurse who wants more than anything else to become a doctor), and a young Marine in his late teens. These two are marooned on a deserted island in the South Pacific and spend most of their first days bickering—that is when they're not figuring out how to stay alive. She, being a lieutenant, tries to pull rank. He, being a corporal, is sure that her veins are full of frozen plasma; the only thing that scares him is when she tries to be helpful. So the bickering goes on—until love comes at last to the lush, balmy island. (All this was photographed in Jamaica in stunning Technicolor.) The change in the old maid is amazing; and even the boy seems to grow up. But then the happy twosome gets a triangular twist when a plane crashes on the island and a 38-year-old R.A.F. man has to be nursed by Linda and resented by the boy.

Perhaps some of the implausibilities of the script wouldn't be so hard to take if the major premise of Miss Darnell as a cantankerous old maid weren't impossible to believe. As the young Marine, Tab Hunter is properly brash, masculine and enthusiastic. And Donald Gray plays the latecoming Englishman (whose arm Linda cuts off) with appropriate stiff upper lip and propriety. The morals in "Island of Desire" are a little shaky, but the finale is as it should be. The island itself is ideal in case you're planning on being marooned, and you're sure to agree with the handsome Marine when he says to the nagging nurse: "Most people would give their eye teeth to spend a vacation here and all you do is moan."

GINGER Rogers is another good actress who continues to hit a glamorous note in her pictures. In "Dreamboat" she does two courageous things: she plays a middle-aged former movie star, and she plays second fiddle to Clifton Webb, who steals the title role and most of the footage in this hilarious satire. Webb portrays a college professor whose career is threatened when some old films he made twenty years ago with Miss Rogers are revived on TV. He files suit against her, her agent (Fred Clark) and the perfume company putting on the show. Director Claude Binyon, who also wrote the clever script, has squeezed every ounce of fun out of this situation, and his success is due mainly to the fact that no one person really stars in this well-rounded picture.

I SUPPOSE the return of Rita Hayworth to the screen should be heralded as if it were a rebirth of glamor. Actually "Affair in Trinidad" doesn't do too well by her. Its plot, in which Rita as a widow tries to find out who murdered her husband and works at the same time as a G-man to expose a nest of spies, is pretty tired stuff. Its cliché situation, requiring her to keep secret her maneuvers while she seems to be offending her brother-in-law (Glenn Ford), whom she now loves, doesn't help matters much. Nor do her song-and-dance numbers which were created by Valerie Bettis, who also appears in the film, and which go out of their way to be daring. In spite of Miss Hayworth's adventures abroad having been well covered by headlines, her audience needs to be resold. "Affair in Trinidad" does no reselling job. Glenn Ford's final speech to Rita is to the point: "You're going to find Chicago cold after Trinidad."

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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COMMUNICATIONS

"THE 'LIBERAL CATHOLIC' "

Chicago, Illinois

TO the Editors: I disagree, and quite specifically, with Mr. William P. Clancy's essay on "The'Liberal Catholic' " in The Commonweal (July 11). First of all, I think it futile for any Catholic to try to meet the liberals on their ground. (A liberal is one who advocates secularization of culture while holding to the diametrically opposed notions of cultural relativism and the ultimate perfectibility of mankind.) The ground either must be ours or else the no-man's-land of a pluralistic society such as we like to think we have in the United States. Second, I do not believe that the man whom Mr. Clancy sees as a "liberal" Catholic is caught between the opposing camps of the conservative believers and the secularized liberals.

Collaborating with the liberals does not of course hold the dangers for Catholics that a Popular Front movement would hold, for the liberals, whatever their aims, abide by the Constitution and the laws of the land. They would exterminate us—gradually, by legal pressures—but we shouldn't resent this fact, as we can always oppose pressure with pressure. The danger in collaborating with the liberals lies, rather, in our coming to see the world on their terms. The liberal Catholic is not merely an anomaly, therefore; he is already a lost sheep. We all know the long list of Catholics, the artists, novelists, poets, businessmen and actors and politicians who have been assimilated to the liberal way of life, most of them, I daresay, because they wanted, consciously or no, to belong to the dominant group, but also, ostensibly because they shared that group's liberal philosophy.

The solution to this problem is not easy. How can we retain our identity and not be submerged utterly in the melting pot? In order to live, that is to say, for prudential reasons, we must work with our fellow Americans. More importantly, our vision of truth and Christian charity tells us that we must work with our fellow Americans—willingly, eagerly, lovingly. The trouble is that Catholics cannot believe that men can create here on earth the sort of secularized New Jerusalem that the liberals (I refrain from citing names and titles) tell us we can have—a French-without-tears Utopia. It seems to me, however, that in good conscience Catholics can, and that indeed in good conscience they must, collaborate with the liberals on specific issues and problems. With all the difficulties that this determination engenders, such a program still is easier for Catholics than it is for liberals simply because the intelligent and active and well educated Catholic has an adequately formulated, a coherent point of view; the liberal, on the other hand, by his own admission, is against fully articulated systems. Should we not as Catholics, then, use this formula in seeking our no-man's-land, that common meeting-ground where we may confidently and justly debate, as Americans speaking to Americans, our nation's problems? In sum, we may not seek to make this life perfect, but we are obligated to seek to make it better.

The Catholic who advocates meliorism as a way of dealing with the liberals certainly should not conceive of himself as trapped between the supporters of Senator McCarthy and the ardent readers of Freda Kirchwey's editorials. True, one group of liberal intellectuals pretty consistently sees the Catholic as sticking to a party line, as in every utterance propagandizing for a "pattern." That this is not the case, The Commonweal has shown by its own stand and analysis of the voting record of the Catholic members of Congress. By writing as though there were an actual dilemma and as though his "liberal" Catholic were helplessly alienated from the two cultural groups to which he sought to belong, Mr. Clancy plays into the hands of the McCarthyites and the *Nation;* but his meliorist Catholic exists in respectable numbers. The Commonweal may occasionally be hard put to continue publication, but I assure the Editors that their difficulty results from the disastrously intellectual and esthetic bias of their periodical—not from a "liberalism" shared by the majority of American voters. For Mr. Clancy's unhappy choice of "liberal" I should substitute the adjective "intellectual"; the dilemma of the intellectual Catholic is extreme, his case is perennially desperate. But this problem calls for another and different essay.

NICHOLAS JOOST.

I have read Mr. Joost's letter several times in an effort to determine on what grounds he "quite specifically" disagrees with my article. Several of his points (the futility of Catholics' attempting to meet the liberals on their own grounds; the real dangers involved in collaborating with the liberal conscience; the fact that Catholics should work with their fellow Americans to make this life, not perfect, but better) are so basic to the viewpoint of my article that I am puzzled by his insistence on them.

I have concluded that Mr. Joost criticises me for the use of the term "liberal Catholic" itself, and for what he considers the false dichotomy I have drawn between the "liberal Catholic," on the one hand, and "the conservative believers and secularized liberals" on the other.

I must point out that I did not invent the term "liberal Catholic," and that I tried in my article to demonstrate its essential ambiguity. But the use of the term is widespread, whether we like it or not, and it is this fact (which, far from encouraging, I personally deplore), that led me to write the article in the first place.

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But, although the term itself is unfortunate, the world-view it so ineptly seeks to describe is real enough. A Catholic, for example, who finds himself on the side of the "liberals" in some specific controversy such as the banning of a "dangerous" book or movie, will soon be burdened with the label. Mr. Joost maintains that the dichotomy is between the "intellectual," rather than the "liberal," Catholic and—what? There are Catholic intellectuals on a very conservative side of any particular question. Intellectualism is no particular guarantee of "liberalism."

Mr. Joost's letter is one further indication of the unfortunate misunderstandings to which the use of the "liberal Catholic" label brings us. I am therefore strengthened in my own objections to its use, objections which (with what success I do not know) I intended to indicate in "The 'Liberal Catholic.'"

W. P. C.

PITFALLS AND PROMISE

The Reformer in the Church

JUSTUS GEORGE

WE must forever be on guard against regarding the Church either as an abstraction, as a body of theoretical principles, or as nothing more than an organization in which we hold membership. This latter is the more common mentality, probably because it requires the least effort, and is exemplified in the fierce and fiery ghetto loyalties exhibited by Catholics who act as if their faith meant little more than association with a lodge or union group. The diocesan-weekly-press conception of Catholicism, or that of the scholar overemphatic in pointing out the relation of Shakespeare, Schiller—or what have you?—to Catholicism: both attitudes arise from this narrow confessional bias.

In neither of these two ways can we afford to conceive of the Church. Père Clérissac, in *The Mystery of the Church,* suggests to us the only adequate viewpoint when he writes that "the whole mystery of the Church lies in the equation and convertibility of these two terms: Christ and the Church."

With proper emphasis on this basic idea, we are in a position to consider the various critical attitudes present in the world today with regard to the Church, and to determine which of these are legitimate and which are the result of ignorance or malice. In doing so we will be guided by the principles governing reform in the Church set forth in Père Yves Congar's *Vraie et fausse Réforme dans l'Eglise* (Cerf, Paris, 1950). I am not reviewing this book so these remarks do not constitute an outline of the work, and hence they do not give any comprehensive idea of the brilliance of organization and of the vast erudition involved in it.

The first principle to be considered is that of collective responsibility. This is the obligation imposed on all men, in proportion to their position and their knowledge, of testifying to the truth or evil of a given situation. Père Congar gives as illustrations from history when thinkers and men of action failed in this responsibility, the nineteenth century, when the working class was lost to the Church, and the time of the Galileo affair. He points out, however, as a balance to the notion of collective responsibility, the duty of not going to the opposite extreme of magnifying every trivial human defect, or of opposing the *status quo* simply for the sake of nonconformity. This latter is a trait of the perennial adolescent and is seen in the desire to break with all traditional authority and to devote oneself to crushing the popular ikons. All such efforts display the exhibitionist rather than the reformer.

An illustration in our own country of collective responsibility among Christians is suggested by the attitude of many towards the Negro and Jewish peoples. The former present a clearly defined problem which most sincere Catholics do want to resolve, though particularly in the South and among some in authority there is perhaps too timorous a prudence in expressing what is the mind of Christ on the sin of segregation. However, anti-Semitism is a much more subtle thing than this, and, to that extent, even more pernicious.

"There is an area," remarks Père Congar, "about which our examinations of conscience tell us nothing; but this is nevertheless an area of real responsibility." That abiding distrust and contempt for the Jewish people, illustrated in so many popular sayings, is situated in this area. We are frequently not even aware of our assimilation of this anti-Semitic virus from a civilization which has grown cold from racial and confessional pride. Yet as Christians we make ourselves responsible when we fail to realize the implications of the faith in practical affairs.

Brother Justus George, F.S.C., founded the Journal of Arts and Letters.

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THE second principle of *True and False Reform,* and one which forms the very core of the entire work, concerns what Père Congar calls "the two plans of fidelity." He writes: "Fidelity to the Christian reality may be a fidelity to the state actually attained, to the forms here and now established of this reality: in brief a fidelity to its present. It may also be a fidelity to its future, which is the equivalent of a fidelity to its principle." Père Congar adds that one of the purposes of his book is to point out that there is a "communication, a continuity, and therefore a harmony" between the two fidelities.

We might clarify the deeper meaning of the two plans of fidelity with an illustration. In our age many people are living a prayer life which is the product of theological and philosophical concepts created in the past. In many cases such piety is now malnourished. If, for example, one's spirituality has been nurtured on the religious thinking brought forth in the age of anthropocentrism —the age of the Renaissance and of the Counter-Reformation—then one would expect this piety to emphasize such dualities as the opposition between nature and grace, between knowledge and love. This man-centered piety would naturally lead one to be more intent on searching his own soul; and an obsessive self-consciousness would ultimately lead to an interest not in the Mass-sacrifice but in whatever devotion succeeded in satisfying personal feelings.

Now, because the Church is the people of God, and because the Church had been undergoing the onslaught of the Protestant heresies at the time when the man-centered spirit was concretized, these popular emphases —begotten from a fear both for personal salvation and for the survival of the Church—have been reflected in various disciplinary regulations. And in the present, while one must maintain a perfect fidelity to the least of these positive prescriptions, he may also show his fidelity to the Church's unique principle by praying (which remains the first means of reform) and working for a return to the authentic tradition which developed when the Christian people was not preoccupied with the heretical assaults. One might, on a very practical level, work and pray, there, for the restoration of the vernacular in certain liturgical celebrations, while yet submitting to the prescriptions forbidding its use.

When writing of the concrete attitude of the Church considered under its aspect of those men who have been called and ordained to exercise hierarchic offices, Père Congar notes that generally they look upon reform movements with distrust. He points out that this attitude is usually animated by very profound motives which are at once doctrinal and pastoral. He writes:

> The Church must safeguard above all its very being and the integrity of its principles. An adaptation to the needs of the world, an openness to the longings of the faithful, or real improvements in the order of theological science and pastoral effort—these are certainly desirable; but they have reference to the *life of the Church,* her *bene esse.* The primary concern of her responsible leaders is with reference to her *esse,* to her constitutive principles.

After pointing out these legitimate motives for viewing reform movements with some distrust, Père Congar discusses a less worthy motive which sometimes animates the rejection of these new tendencies. This is what another Dominican, Père Régamey, editor of *L'Art Sacré,* has called "the abuse of obedience." This reduction of all religious living to obedience is analyzed by Père Congar as follows:

> *In a still more general way—one is almost able to say more radically—Catholics, and especially the men of the Church, are formed and trained to an obedience* ad literam. *This is a very great force, serving marvelously in bringing about a submission to what is established* (donné) *in the Church, by which are translated the imperative demands of her constitutive principles. But it sometimes gives place to an excess: that of considering in practice that there is only one virtue, obedience—even as there is only one sin, that of the flesh. This habituates both clergy and faithful to a certain lack of initiative, even where life would demand that it be taken. One might even go to the extreme of conceiving religion as something ready-made, completely determined from on high, extrinsic to the personal decisions of conscience . . .*

PÈRE Congar outlines four conditions requisite for a reform without schism. The first of these conditions is that the primacy of charity and of pastoral interests be maintained. He points out that every reform which has succeeded has found its source in the concrete life of the Church. A reform movement which is too intellectual, which treats the Church only as an idea to be rationally analyzed, inevitably fails. Knowledge separated from charity "leads readily to a misconception of the concrete reality and of the given situation of the Church." The attitudes towards the Church of Dr. Doellinger and of the Abbé de Lamennais stand in contrast to the authentic reforming spirit of a Newman and a Pére Lacordaire.

Both Doellinger and Newman opposed the promulgation of the doctrine of papal infallibility, but Newman, who never avoided pastoral for intellectual pursuits, submitted his judgment to that of the Church. Dr. Doellinger broke with Rome and initiated the "Old Catholic" schismatic group. Similarly Lamennais had little interest in his priestly obligations as such, and avoided any active pastoral apostolate, leaving the impression that he almost feared to place himself in touch with the con-

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crete reality of the Church. His interest in Catholicism appeared to be purely cerebral. When the condemnation of his work was made he continued to nurse his theories, unlike Lacordaire, who submitted gracefully and then, sanctifying himself, sanctified others in a very fruitful apostolate. Every true reform must spring from an enlightened self-sanctification, and from an awareness of the needs of the Christian community.

When speaking of the primacy of charity it is worth bearing in mind that under a different aspect the attitude of Christian love is mandatory even towards our own critics: our Blanshards, Brogans, Russells and Sugrues. Particularly to the last named does the obligation refer, since he is of the household of the faithful. Some of the bitter condemnations heaped upon the book, *A Catholic Speaks His Mind* (and frequently they were condemnations for its pointing out genuine defects of American Catholics), lead one to suspect that a spirit of party loyalty rather than of Christ-like charity was the motivating factor. Perhaps we need our contemporary Léon Bloys, but such as aspire to the role of Jeremiah should write with the prophetic fire of the Holy Ghost—the Spirit of Love—not with a merely splenetic bitterness.

The remaining conditions of reform-without-schism are more or less self-explanatory. They are: to remain within the communion of the whole; to accept setbacks and delays with patience; and to achieve a true renovation by a return to principles and tradition.

Because of the scope of Père Congar's book the question of the virtue of obedience does not receive that exhaustive treatment which it demands in order that it be understood with clarity. We have on the one hand the extremists who invoke an absolute submission of will and judgment for all regulations and decisions, and, on the other, the sad example of the Jansenists who took refuge from obedience by maintaining that the condemned teachings of the Bull *Unigenitus* had not actually been taught, or had been misinterpreted by the papal directive. Then again, Don Luigi Sturzo in his monumental treatise *Church and State* points out that criticism of certain papal decisions is not incompatible with a true spirit of obedience. He writes:

> Clement XVI is the last of the Popes whose acts have been subjected even by Catholic historians to open criticism. It is fortunate that we find this precedent in respect of a recent pope, so that no irreverence can be imputed to anyone using the same historical method towards some of his successors.

While this may be true if the criticism is directed to acts which are purely a-religious, it nevertheless must be presumed that the critic consider the possibility of his own limited vision and relatively isolated position.

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A RECENT criticism by Graham Greene in *Life* magazine which does not seem to measure up to these conditions is encountered in the following passage concerning the promulgation of the encyclical *Humani Generis*:

> The huge civil service [of the Vatican] has to go on functioning, and sometimes in our irritation at its slowness, its caution or its pedantry, we may feel that it is obscuring the white-clothed figure at the center. The banning of Sartre's books, the recent withdrawal of certain well known French Jesuits from teaching—these acts, of course, are not the immediate work of the Pope but of the civil service. Three theologians 'advise' the Pope, one Dutch, one French, and one German, and one would have liked to take these three aging men out into the streets of Rome during the Holy Year, milling with pilgrims from China, India, Africa and ask them: Is the Church really so insecure that opinion needs to be suppressed quite so promptly? How many of the great definitions of the Church would have been lost if even the hint of heresy had always been quickly suppressed. But an irritation like this comes and goes: it is not the impression that remains.

This statement offends against the criteria formulated above in that it apparently presumes that the necessarily constricted vision of a London novelist is as extensive as that of the Roman Curia.

Such a criticism as that above, while motivated, we may be certain, by the best of intentions, is similar to that of the members of the Action Française twenty five years ago. When this organization was condemned it was asserted publicly that the Pope had no authority in its "purely political interests," that he did not understand the facts of the case, that he was unduly influenced by the "civil service," by the anti-monarchists, etc. All of these criticisms have been answered by Mr. Maritain's *The Things That Are Not Caesar's:*

> The Church, 'which has in an eminent degree the grace which St. Paul describes as the discerning of spirits,' perceives in such a case, as though by some maternal instinct, the presence of a state of mind which is not that of her Master and then reacts against it with the sort of passionate anxiety which inspires mothers in fighting against an obscure, diffuse danger. Mothers then require their children the more imperiously to trust them, as they perceive them to be the less capable of themselves understanding, while they continue to be dominated by such a state of mind, the reasons provoking such anxiety.

Viewed in the light of such a conception of obedience, Père Congar's magnificant study cannot but be fruitful, for it points out the way to a genuine renovation of the Church and of Christian society.

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The Surrender of the Spirit

LAMENT FOR FOUR VIRGINS. By Lael Tucker. Random House. $3.50.

By RICHARD HAYES

IN a dry season, Miss Leal Tucker's novel is distinguished chiefly for its energy. There is, in this chronicle of the four foolish virgins of Andalusia, their rise and fall, nothing of that smallness of spirit which characterizes so many first novelists: ambitious to a fault, Miss Tucker floods the texture of her novel with wanton and irrepressible life. She misses, inevitably, some fineness of grain—achieves success on a literal rather than an imaginative level. The focus of her vision is always somewhat blurred; she is never able to give her perceptions of Southern life the marvelous aesthetic organization and precision which talents like Ellen Glasgow's and Peter Taylor's have brought to comparable material.

Yet one forgives Miss Tucker the defect of this virtue when we consider her unfashionable merits: her refusal (rare in a "Southern" novelist) to substitute the deranged sensibility for coherent experience, and her solid commitment to a social world that is tangible and real. As a study of Southern manners, *Lament for Four Virgins* seems to me indisputably authoritative, full of the brightest kind of feminine shrewdness and irreverent insight. Its central theme is unraveled in the lives of four young women who, in a small Georgian town, come by devious and separate routes to pain and loss. The virginity which Miss Tucker laments—and which is lost by her heroines in the two decades which the novel encompasses—is not specifically a physical chastity: how easily and how casually that is discarded here! Rather it is some quality of the spirit—some aspect of hope, perhaps—which is taken from them by force, and which they surrender only with hatred. In the end, they must accede to the dull and the tarnished; it is time, the dishonorable adversary, to whom they have lost the prize.

Miss Tucker's characters are never of tragic stature, but she has invested their conflicts with moral significance by posing them against the fabric of a Southern society with its own interior logic. Manners and morals exist here in the most intimate alliance, and both are viewed as inseparable from character. This clash of personality and convention, this whole tragic history of alarms and excursions, derives a special pathos from its very futility.

The style of *Lament for Four Virgins* is marked by a kind of anarchic individualism: never less than herself, Miss Tucker often attempts to be something more, and the result is eccentric rather than distinguished. What possible direction her talent may take at this point, it is difficult to say. But here, for the present, is an introduction to a striking if undisciplined novelist, who has made an admirable fiction out of the South of fact.

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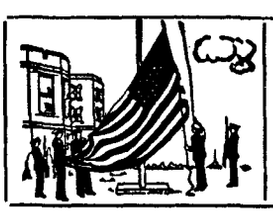

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Domestic Diplomat

POSTMARKED MOSCOW. By Lydia Kirk. Scribner. $3.

By EDWARD S. SKILLIN

FROM the vantage point of the hostess in the American embassy to the Soviet Union, I suppose, it is quite possible to see things all in one light. You begin with your own mountainous difficulties: the chronic servant problem, the dirt and the mice, the leaks in the roof, the exorbitant cost of the food, the scarcity of staff accommodations, the deep freeze that is always breaking down and the like. Then you look round you in a wider arc and find that outside the embassy things in Moscow are in even worse shape: the mud and holes in the streets, the crumbling unpainted buildings, and the shoddy goods (when there are any).

In the course of getting about in the best-appointed accommodations available, your impressions of dirt, lack of sanitary facilities and Russian inability to cope with machines pile up.

Life at the embassy would indeed have been much less difficult if Russian officials had not gone out of their way to make things unpleasant. Invitations were often completely ignored; domestic personnel were continually interfered with; the movements of the Ambassador himself were greatly and unfeelingly circumscribed. Mrs. Kirk could not get away from a realization that she was dealing with an unrelenting enemy.

That is why the angle of approach to her book needs defining. As an account of her travail as wife of our ambassador in Moscow these excerpts from her letters are quite informative. But as intimations on life and spirit in the Soviet Union today they leave too many questions in the air. Russian secrecy is largely responsible. But *Postmarked Moscow* gives me the feeling that the author is of the opinion that the Soviet experiment has produced nothing of a positive sort during its whole embattled thirty-five years. If that be so, why does it constitute such a menace to our national security?

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The Labyrinthine Ways of Justice

STRANGERS AND AFRAID. By Thomas Sterling. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

By DAVID M. CULHANE

IT would be presumptuous to assume that Mr Sterling's interior disposition was awry when he conceived *Strangers and Afraid* and yet his singular failure may remind one of Spender's dictum: "A creative writer should always write out of the inner necessity of a unique situation. Not to do so is to risk paying a price."

The theme of Mr. Sterling's novel, at once interesting and exploitable, is never fully utilized. The strangers afraid are two, and both are intimately concerned with injustice: Lyle Bishop, a man with a consciously discarded but still unconsciously operative Puritan background (and a consequent firm faith in the efficacy of law in an organized search for justice), is the head of "The League for the Right to Freedom." Maccabee David, a Negro who has no belief in law but only in individual caution as a weapon against the world, is hunted by the police.

The character and unique viewpoint of the two men are developed in more or less parallel chapters through a series of flashbacks. They eventually meet, and, expectantly, we await the clash of their conflicting positions. But the jackknife closes with a gentle click, not a snap.

The meeting between Maccabee, a fugitive from a Mississippi prison farm where he was committed for a theft of which he was innocent, and Bishop, who at this point in the narrative is attempting to restore his waning faith in organized justice by introducing a personal element into his work, is arranged by a girl who works for the League. Bishop agrees to help the fugitive, only to learn that he has killed a man and, more, feels justified in the killing because the man had tried to obtain forced labor from him. Disillusioned, Bishop abandons his work for the League, and his quest for justice. Maccabee, confirmed through this experience in his innate caution, escapes again from the law, and so is able to tell us all this. In his telling he philosophizes over the course of justice at such length that the grim realities of his narrative become blurred.

The theme of this novel and the basic situations confronting the characters hold a real potential; from such a plot one might expect the tension, violence, and lyricism which so many Southern writers have brought to their work. But Mr. Sterling's style is overly cautious and the symbols which suggest themselves do not come forth. The problems of the two men never merge, and the minor characters are never implicated in the action. Mr. Sterling has not recognized his unique occasion, and he has indeed paid the price.

Irish Writers

1000 YEARS OF IRISH PROSE. Edited by Vivian Mercier and David H. Green. Devin-Adair. $6.

By EMMET LAVERY

WHAT does it take to make a "literary revival"? Is it, as the Dubliners sometimes say, "nothing more than a group of writers who live in the same town and hate each other cordially"? Or is it something more?

Whatever it is, the Irish have had it for a long time. The reflection of it is here for all to see, in part one of a great anthology of Irish prose, edited by Vivian Mercier and David H. Greene. The tears and the laughter, the high hopes and the low betrayals, the imperishable reality of great dreams are still with us.

It may be true, as the critics so often remind us, that art is not life and life is not art, but with the Irish it is difficult to tell where one leaves off and the other begins. Did art take fire from life or life from art? It doesn't really matter, as long as something takes fire from something.

Here is great history, as well as great prose. And what a list of "historians" it is: Standish O'Grady, Yeats, Lady Gregory, James Stephens, Douglas Hyde, J. M. Synge, George Moore, James Joyce, Padraic Colum, Daniel Corkery, AE, Padraic Pearse, James Connolly, Sean O'Casey, Liam O'Flaherty, Frank O'Connor, Oliver St. John Gogarty, and many others.

To re-read the episode of the Christmas dinner from Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* is to understand Parnell, as only a few understood him in his time. To linger over Padraic Pearse's *At the Grave of O'Donovan Rossa* is to learn how painful the making of history can be. Something quickens in the blood as you read these fragments, and it is not something that is confined to tales of warriors or politicians. The magic is just as strong in the stories of Yeats, Lady Gregory, James Stephens and Frank O'Connor.

REVIEWERS

Richard Hayes contributes regularly to The Commonweal and several other Catholic magazines.

David M. Culhane is a recent graduate of the University of Detroit.

Emmet Lavery is a prominent playwright and screen writer.

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Contributors such as these provide a good index of the quality of the thought and the writing that goes into each issue of The Commonweal. Names like these also indicate what to expect of forthcoming issues of the magazine. The attached trial subscription offer is to enable occasional readers to get better acquainted during the impending strategic period of the presidential campaign.

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